

Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00

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DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM:JSDAVISON:MEM

APPROVED BY EUR:JAARMITAGE

C:JDOBBINS

S/S: LCJOHNSTONE

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 120605 TOSEC 010242

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), CSCE

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: CSCE: SPEAKING ORDER AT
STAGE III (S/S 7510592)

TO THE SECRETARY THROUGH SONNENFELDT AND HARTMAN FROM
ARMITAGE

1. SUMMARY. OUR CSCE DELEGATION HAS SUGGESTED THAT
AGREEMENT ON ORDER OF STAGE III SPEAKERS TO BEGIN BY LOT
AND CONTINUE BY FRENCH ALPHABETICAL ORDER MAY OFFER THE
BEST CHANCE OF ACHIEVING OUR OBJECTIVE THAT BREZHNEV NOT
SPEAK FIRST. WE BELIEVE SUCH AN APPROACH SHOULD BE
PURSUED IF IT DEVELOPS THAT WE CANNOT ARRANGE DIRECTLY
THAT A NEUTRAL SPEAK FIRST.

2. ISSUE. OUR CSCE DELEGATION HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED TO
WORK ACTIVELY WITH ALLIES AND OTHERS TO SEE THAT A NEUTRAL,
AND NOT BREZHNEV, SPEAKS FIRST AT STAGE III. HOWEVER,
AMBASSADOR SHERER HAS NOTED THAT THERE IS LIKELY TO BE
RESISTANCE TO ESTABLISHING A SPEAKING LIST BY NEGOTIATION.

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ROMANIA AND OTHERS OPPOSE A SPEAKING ORDER ARRIVED AT

THROUGH BARGAINING, BELIEVING SUCH A PROCESS WILL
INEVITABLY DISCRIMINATE AGAINST SMALLER STATES NOT
AFFILIATED WITH THE SOVIET BLOC, NATO, OR THE EC. AS AN

ALTERNATIVE, USDEL SUGGESTS THAT AN ORDER DETERMINED BY
SELECTION OF AN INITIAL SPEAKER BY LOT, CONTINUED
ACCORDING TO FRENCH ALPHABETICAL ORDER, AND REINFORCED BY
A PROHIBITION AGAINST TRADING POSITIONS ON THE LIST, WOULD
BEST MEET THESE CONCERNS, WHILE REDUCING CHANCES TO 35-1
THAT BREZHNEV WOULD SPEAK FIRST. IT WOULD ALSO MEAN THAT
US COULD END UP TOWARD THE END OF THE LIST. HOWEVER, WE
BELIEVE WE SHOULD ACCEPT THIS PROPOSAL FOR ALPHABETICAL
SELECTION AS A FALLBACK, IF IT BECOMES CLEAR THAT A SPEAK-
ING ORDER ALONG LINES WE WISH CANNOT BE ACHIEVED BY
CONSENSUS.

3. RECOMMENDATION: THAT YOU APPROVE THE FOLLOWING CABLE
INSTRUCTING OUR CSCE DELEGATION TO CONTINUE EXPLORING WITH
ROMANIANS AND OTHERS THE POSSIBILITY OF WORKING OUT AN
AGREED SPEAKERS LIST, IN WHICH AT LEAST THE FIRST SPEAKER
WOULD BE A NEUTRAL, PERHAPS SWITZERLAND. HOWEVER, WE
WOULD AUTHORIZE SUPPORT FOR SELECTION BY LOT, AND ALPHABET
IN THE EVENT THERE CONTINUES TO BE STRONG OPPOSITION TO A
SPEAKING LIST DECIDED BY NEGOTIATION.

4. "ACTION: USDEL CSCE GENEVA. YOU SHOULD CONTINUE
EXPLORING POSSIBILITIES WITH ALLIES, ROMANIANS, AND
OTHERS FOR CONSENSUS ON A SPEAKING ORDER DETERMINED BY
PRIOR AGREEMENT IN WHICH A NEUTRAL WOULD SPEAK IMMEDIATELY
AFTER INTRODUCTORY PRESENTATIONS BY KEKKONEN AND WALDHEIM.
IF RESISTANCE TO DECIDING A WHOLE LIST BY NEGOTIATION
REMAINS FIRM, YOU SHOULD SUGGEST THAT A NEUTRAL, PERHAPS
SWITZERLAND, AS HOST FOR STAGE II, MIGHT AT LEAST BE
DESIGNATED AS FIRST SPEAKER WITH FOLLOWING SPEAKERS CHOSEN
BY SOME RANDOM METHOD. IF IT DEVELOPS THAT ALLIES AND KEY
NEUTRALS STRONGLY DESIRE THAT ENTIRE LIST BE DETERMINED
BY A RANDOM METHOD, YOU MAY THEN INDICATE THAT US CAN
SUPPORT SELECTION OF SPEAKERS ALPHABETICALLY STARTING AT A
POINT ON LIST OF PARTICIPANTS DETERMINED BY LOT, WITH A
PROHIBITION AGAINST TRADING."

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5. APPROVE. DISAPPROVE.

-- CLEARED IN C BY MR. DOBBINS INGERSOLL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETING AGENDA, STAGE 111, TOSEC 10242
Control Number: S7510592
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 MAY 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ElyME
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE120605
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JSDAVISON:MEM
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750180-0624
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750525/aaaaawrt.tel
Line Count: 111
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ElyME
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24 JUN 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <04 NOV 2003 by ElyME>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ACTION MEMORANDUM: CSCE: SPEAKING ORDER AT STAGE III (S/S 7510592)
TAGS: OVIP, OCON, PFOR, CSCE, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006